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SUPPLEMENT TO
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1. When General HO Ying-ch'in in was offered the position of Minister of National Defense, he made known to Generalissimo CHIANG K'ai-shek the following two major terms of acceptance:
 - (1). Revision of the Organization Law of the Ministry of National Defense so that the Chief of General Staff and the Commanders-in-Chief of the Army, Navy and Air Force would be within the control of the Minister of National Defense. As minister, HO wanted to have the power that CHIANG had preferred to withhold from former Defense Minister, PAI Ch'ung-hai, Kwangsi Clique leader. PAI had abided by the Organization Law and had taken care of general administrative affairs of the Ministry only, leaving military operations entirely to CH'EN Ch'eng, the former Chief of General Staff. The General Staff had been actually an individual organ responsible only to the Generalissimo.
 - (2). Naming of General KU Chu-t'ung, HO Ying-ch'in's own man, as Chief of General Staff. This would ensure HO that the General Staff would not have conflicting opinions with HO and would be under HO's jurisdiction. And for the same reasons, have General YU Han-mou, who affiliates with HO Ying-ch'in, succeed General KU Chu-t'ung as Commander-in-Chief of the Army.
2. As early as the beginning of May 1948, CHIANG consented to the terms of point (2) above because CH'EN Ch'eng, CHIANG's favorite and HO's enemy, was severely criticized by various circles, especially the CC Clique, for his "failures in the Northeast" and hence could not keep the position of Chief of General Staff. Agreement to term (1) above was impossible for several reasons, among which is the fact that many high-ranking Kuomintang military officials are willing to be responsible to the Generalissimo but will not accept the command or control of HO Ying-ch'in; in addition, the Generalissimo did not want HO to gain too much power. Up to the end of May, the only adjustment CHIANG consented to make was that "in all general military affairs, such as army equipment and supply, the Chief of General Staff shall obey the orders of the Minister of National Defense; in matters pertaining to military operations, such as the transferring of troops and the directing of operations, the Chief of General Staff shall obey the orders of the President (CHIANG K'ai-shek)".

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HO, of course, was not satisfied with such a minor revision. After further direct and indirect negotiations with the Generalissimo, it was decided that the General Staff would be under the direct control of the Ministry of National Defense. Although it appears that HO has obtained what he requested, actually the power which HO acquired, while greater than that of the former Minister, is still very much limited: HO can command the General Staff simply because the Chief of General Staff is HO's man. Neither HO nor the Chief of General Staff can direct all military operations. Many military officials would not move their troops without an order from CHIANG himself. Although HO can control the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, YU Han-mou, and Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Army, FANG Ku-po, both of whom are HO's men, neither HO nor YU can command all the army forces of the Nationalist Government. Many of the Bandit Suppression Headquarters Chiefs and Pacification Commanders would not accept their appointments unless they were directly responsible to the Generalissimo instead of HO; an example of this was the acceptance of former National Defense Minister FAI Ch'ung-hai of the post of Central China Bandit Suppression Headquarters Chief, in which position he would be responsible only to the Generalissimo and not to HO Ying-ch'ing.

3. The following are some of the reasons why there are not many of HO Ying-ch'ing's men among the military officials in the lists below (paragraph 5):

(1). HO does not have a sufficient number of qualified men to replace those of CH'EN Ch'eng. HO knows that many of the non-Shampoa elder military men who associate with himself are inefficient and/or old men whose military training is outdated. The young military officials at present are chiefly Shampoa Military Academy graduates. Although some of those who belong to CH'EN Ch'eng's sub-clique or to HU Tsung-nan's sub-clique do lean toward HO Ying-ch'ing, the number is still comparatively small.

(2). The Generalissimo still favors CH'EN Ch'eng and intends to give CH'EN a high post in the near future; that is one of the reasons why CHIANG does not permit the removal of all of CH'EN Ch'eng's men at present.

(3). Military officials of the middle echelon are mostly CH'EN Ch'eng's or HU Tsung-nan's men, the latter being of the lesser number. Many of these middle echelon men work hard and take responsibilities, and it is not desirable to change them all.

4. The following are some of the leading items of the parallel military-political measures for effecting an all-out suppression of the Chinese Communists which were worked out by the Ministry of National Defense and adopted by the Executive Yuan:

(1). Bandit Suppression Headquarters and Pacification Headquarters for various areas of China will be established by the order of the President and the Executive Yuan.

(2). Within each Bandit Suppression Headquarters and/or Pacification Headquarters a "Political Affairs Commission" will be established and the Commander-in-Chief or Director of the Headquarters will be the Chief Commissioner. In directing political affairs, the Chief Commissioner will obey the order of the Executive Yuan in directing the political affairs of the area governed by his Headquarters. A "number of Commissioners shall be appointed by the Executive Yuan."

(3). The Chairman of the Province shall be concurrently the Peace Preservation Commander of the Province and shall be under the command of the Commander-in-Chief of the Bandit Suppression Headquarters or the Director of the Pacification Headquarters in matters pertaining to Chinese Communist suppression or pacification.

(4). Pacification Areas shall be established within provinces at war with the Communists or preparing for war with them. The Commanding Officer of the Pacification Area shall, with the approval of the Executive Yuan, be concurrently the political assistant, shall be under the command of the Director of the Pacification Headquarters, shall be responsible for the military and political affairs of the Pacification Area under the orders of the Chairman of the Province in which the Pacification Area lies.

5. The following is a list of the leading military personnel of the Ministry of National Defense with the clique affiliation and position or title of each man given when known:

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Comment. In the list below, the following abbreviations are used to indicate the various cliques and sub-cliques:

BT--Brain Trusters

CC--CC Clique

CH--CHU Chia-hua Clique

EC--Elders Clique

KC--K'UNG Clique

LC--Kuomintang Leftists Clique

MC--Military Cliques

M1--Central Government Military Clique

M1a--Japanese-trained Officers' Clique

M1ab--HO Ying-ch'in's Sub-Clique

M1b--Faoing Military Clique

M1c--Whampoa Military Clique

M1c2nd--2nd Department Sub-Clique

M1ch--HU Tsung-nan's Sub-Clique

M1cc--CH'EN Ch'eng's Sub-Clique

M1d--Revenue Guards' Clique

M2--Non-Central Government Military Clique

M2a--Northwest Military Clique

M2b--Shansi-Suiyuan Military Clique

M2c--Northeast Military Clique

M2d--Kwangsi Military Clique

M3--Local Military Clique

M3a--Szechuan-Sikang Military Clique

M3b--Shansi-Suiyuan Military Clique

M3c--Kwangtung Military Clique

M3d--Yunnan Military Clique

M3e--Muslim Army Clique

M3f--Inner Mongolian Army Clique

Mae C--Madame CHIANG Clique

SC--SCONG (SUNG) Clique

SF--SUN Fo Clique (now practically identical with the CC Clique)

PS--Political Science Clique

University Clique--(university named in each case)

(For a detailed discussion of the various cliques and sub-cliques see [REDACTED])

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Minister of National Defense: HO Ying-ch'iu (何應欽) (Mlah)

Vice Ministers: CH'IN Te-ch'un (秦德純) (Mlb)

HSIAO I-shu (蕭毅肅) (Mlah)

CHENG Chieh-min (鄭介民) (Mlc2nd)

Chief of General Staff: KU Chu-t'ung (顧祝同) (Mlah)

Deputy Chiefs of General Staff: LI Chi-lan (李及蘭) (Mlah), formerly Commander-in-Chief of the Shanghai-Woosung Garrison Headquarters who replaced FANG T'ien (方天) (Mlcc) as a Deputy Chief of General Staff.

LIN Wei (林蔚) (Mlcc)

LIU Fei (劉裴) (Mlc)

1st Department--, which takes charge of personnel and military affairs:

Director: MAO Ching-piao (毛景彪) (BT), former Vice Director of the Bureau of Military Affairs

2nd Department, which takes charge of intelligence:

Director: HOU T'eng (侯騰) (Mlc2nd)

3rd Department, which takes charge of war strategy:

Director: KUO Ju-k'uei (郭汝瑰) (Mlah), formerly KU Chu-t'ung's Chief of Staff

4th Department, which takes charge of military supply:

Director: YANG Yeh-kung (楊葉恭) (Mlc)

5th Department, which takes charge of military organization:

Director: SHEN Fa-tsao (沈發藻) (Mlah)

6th Department, which takes charge of military research:

Director: CH'EN Ch'ang-chao (錢昌照) (SC)

Bureau of Political Affairs:

Director: TENG Wen-i (滕文儀) (Mlc and BT)

Comment: The bureau of Political Affairs, a new organ of the Ministry of National Defense, is a combination of the former Bureau of Public Information and Bureau of Civil Affairs.

Formerly CH'IN Te-ch'un was the Administrative Vice Minister of National Defense and CHENG Chieh-min was the Political Vice Minister. When HO Ying-ch'iu was appointed Minister of National Defense, he appointed a third Vice Minister, HSIAO I-shu, who is HO's own man. Following this move, there were indications that perhaps CHENG Chieh-min, who, as Political Vice Minister was at least in nominal control of the 2nd Department, and CHENG's successor as head of the 2nd Department, HOU T'eng/Fisher HO/, were on their way out. CHENG and HOU, leaders of the 2nd Department sub-clique and former associates of the late TAI Li, represent a rival sub-clique to HO Ying-ch'iu and his Japanese-trained officers sub-clique. Although HO's sub-clique and that of the 2nd Department will unite on major issues, such as opposing a new move by the CC Clique, within the Central Government Military Clique, HO and the 2nd Department Sub-clique are opposed to each other. Although HO would prefer his own men in control of the 2nd Department, he does not have any men trained in intelligence work who are more capable than CH'EN or HOU. Although CHENG and HOU are not mutually too friendly, they are bending considerable effort to maintain their hold on the 2nd Department and, among other activities, are presently attempting to gain the approval of American military officials).

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(2). Leading personnel who are under the command of the President and the Chief of General Staff and under the indirect command of the National Defense Minister:

A. National Commanders-in-Chief:

Commander-in-Chief of Army: YU Han-mou (俞漢謀) (M3c, now M1ah)

Deputy Cs-in-C of Army: T'ANG En-po (湯恩伯) (M1a and M1ah)

PAN Han-chieh (范漢傑) (M1c)

Commander-in-Chief of Navy: K'UEI Yung-ch'ing (桂永清) (M1cc)

Commander-in-Chief of Air Force: CHOU Chih-jou (周至柔) (M1b and M1cc)

Deputy Cs-in-C of Air Force: WANG Shu-ming (王叔明) (M1c)

MAO Pang-ch'iu (毛邦初) (M1cc)

Commander-in-Chief of Combined Service Forces: KUO Ch'ian (郭懋) (M1b and M1cc)

Deputy Cs-in-C of Combined Service Forces: CH'EN Liang (陳良) (probably M1c)

HUANG Wei (黃維) (M1c)

HO Shih-li (何世禮) (probably M1c)

B. Commanders-in-Chief of the various Bandit Suppression Headquarters:

Northeast Bandit Suppression Headquarters (NEBSH), directly

responsible to President CHIANG:

Commander-in-Chief: WEI Li-huang (衛立煌) (M1b)

Deputy C-in-C : CHENG Tung-kuo (鄭洞國) (M1c)

LO Cho-ying (羅卓英) (M1b and M1cc)

PAN Han-chieh (范漢傑) (M1c)

SUN Tu (孫渡) (probably M3d)

WAN Fu-lin (萬福麟) (M2c)

MA Chan-shan (馬占山) (M2c)

TUNG Ying-pin (董英斌) (M2c)

CH'EN T'ieh (陳鐵) (M2c)

North China Bandit Suppression Headquarters (NCBSH), directly responsible to President CHIANG:

Commander-in-Chief: FU Tso-i (傅作義) (M1b, M2b and BT)

Deputy C-in-C: LIU To-ch'uan (劉多荃) (M1b)

SHANG-KUAN Yun-hsiang (上官雲相) (M1b)

Central China Bandit Suppression Headquarters (CCBSH), directly responsible to President CHIANG:

Commander-in-Chief: PAI Ch'ung-hsi (白崇禧) (M2d)

Deputy C-in-C: (not yet appointed)

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Hanchou (or East China) Bandit Suppression Headquarters (HBSH), the only Bandit Suppression Headquarters which is under the direct command of the National Defense Minister and the Chief of General Staff:

Commander-in-Chief: LIU Shih (劉峙) (Mlb and Mlah)

Deputy Commanders: TU Yu-ming (屠玉鳴) (Mlc and Mlah)

SUN Chen (孫震) (Mlb and Mlah), concurrently

Chairman of the Chengchow Office of the HBSH.

Headquarters of the Northwest High Military and Political Officials, directly responsible to President CHIANG-

25X1X ~~Comment.~~ This is merely a different name for the Generalissimo's Headquarters, which cannot exist under the new constitution. Since the Northwest is not considered a Communist area by the Central Government, it cannot be called a Bandit Suppression Headquarters.)

Director: CHIANG Chih-chung (張治中) (Mlb & PT)

Assistant Directors: MA Pu-fang (馬步芳) (M3e)

MA Hung-kuei (馬鴻逵) (M3e)

TIAO Shih-yieh (陶峙岳) (Mlc, affiliates with CHIANG Chih-chung)

SUNG Hsi-lien (宋希濂) (Mlc & Mlah)

C. Directors of Pacification Headquarters:

Sian (Shensi) Pacification Headquarters:

Director: HU Tsung-nan (胡宗南) (Mlch)

Assistant Directors:

KUAN Lin-cheng (關麟徵) (Mlc & Mlah)

LO Tso-kai (羅澤閔) (Mlc & Mlch)

Chungking Pacification Headquarters:

Director: CHU Shao-liang (朱紹良) (Mla & Mlah)

Assistant Director: WANG Tsan-hsu (王纘緒) (M3e)

WANG Sen (楊森) (M3a, affiliates with Mlc)

Chuchou (Chokiang) Pacification Headquarters:

Director: T'ANG En-po (湯恩伯) (Mla and Mlah)

Assistant Director: CH'EN Ta-ch'ing (陳大慶) (T'ANG En-po's man), formerly Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Nanking Garrison Headquarters Hsiang-Kan (Hunan-Kiangsi) Pacification Headquarters:

Director: CH'ENG Ch'ien (程潛) (Mla & Mlah)

Assistant Directors: LI Ho-an (李默庵) (Mlc & Mlcc)

HUANG Chieh (黃杰) (Mlc & Mlcc)

South China Pacification Headquarters:

Director: SUNG Tzu-wen (宋子文) (M3a)

Assistant Directors: SUN Li-ien (孫立人) (Mlc)

HUANG Chen-ch'iu (黃鎮球) (Mlc)

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Faiyuan (Shansi) Pacification Headquarters:

Director: YEN Hsi-shan (閻錫山) (M3b)

Assistant Director: YANG Ai-yuan (楊愛源) (M3b, YEN's man)

Ch'uan-k'ang (Szechuan-Sikang) Pacification Headquarters:

Director: LIU Wen-hui (劉文輝) (M3a)

Ch'uan-Shen-Ken (Szechuan-Shensi-Kansu) Border Pacification Headquarters:

Director: TENG Hsi-hou (鄧錫侯) (M3a)

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Comment. The last 3 Pacification Headquarters above are controlled by non-Central or local military men. Their assistant directors are therefore from the same non-Central or local military clique as their respective directors.

D. Commanding Officers of the various Pacification Areas:

Under HBSII:

1st Pacification Area (North Kiangsu):

Commanding Official: HUANG Pai-t'ao (黃百韜) (M1c)

2nd Pacification Area (Tainan, Shantung):

Commanding Official: WANG Yao-wu (王耀武) (M1c & M1c)

4th Pacification Area (East Honan):

Commanding Official: LIU Ju-ming (劉汝明) (M2a)

6th Pacification Area (Shangchiu, Honan):

Commanding Official: CHOU Yen (周 岩) (possibly M1c)

7th Pacification Area (Southern part of North Kiangsu):

Commanding Official: CHANG Hsueh-chung (張雪中) (probably M1c)

10th Pacification Area (Tenchou, Shantung):

Commanding Official: LI YU-t'ang (李玉堂) (M1c)

11th Pacification Area (Tsingtao and outskirts):

Commanding Official: LIU An-ch'i (劉安祺) (probably M1c)

Under HBSI:

5th Pacification Area (Hsiyang, Honan):

Commanding Official: CHANG Chen (張軫) (M1a)

8th Pacification Area (North Anhwei):

Commanding Official: Hsia Wei (夏威) (M2d)

15th Pacification Area (Hsiangyang, Hupoh):

Commanding Official: KANG Tso (康澤) (M1c 2nd)

16th Pacification Area (Chiuchiang, Kiangsi):

Commanding Official: HUO K'uei-chang (霍揆彰) (M1c)

18th Pacification Area (Hsiaokan, Hupoh):

Commanding Official: CHANG Tso (張 澤) (M1c)

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Under the Hsiang-Kan Pacification Headquarters:

17th Pacification Area (Changte, Hunan):

Commanding Official: LIU Ying-ku (劉膺古) (CH'ENG Ch'ien's man)

Under the Sian Pacification Headquarters

19th Pacification Area (Weinan, Shensi):

Commanding Official: KAO K'uei-sun (高桂滋) (Mlc)

Under the Chungking Pacification Headquarters:

20th Pacification Area (Ichang, Hupoh):

Commanding Official: PAN Wen-hua (潘文華) (M3a)